

surplus for 4 straight years and produced deficits as far as the human eye can see. For 2006, the President is projecting a deficit of \$390 billion, but that deficit estimate does not—does not, does not—include new spending for the war in Iraq. We are not fighting that war on the cheap. It is costing you money, you citizens out there. It is your money; it is costing you money. That deficit estimate does not include new spending, I say, for the war in Iraq. Why? Why does it not? Why does that deficit estimate not include new spending for the war in Iraq? Because the President pretends he cannot project what the war will cost in 2006. Well, Mr. President, I assure you the costs will not be zero.

The President will not tell the American people what the war in Iraq will cost. By understating the deficits, the American people are being led down a primrose path. That is dishonesty. Neither the White House nor Congress is making any tough choices about how to pay for the cost of the war because the administration is not telling Congress how much it thinks the war might cost in the next year. And as a result, there is no talk of raising taxes or cutting spending in order to pay for the costs of the wars.

The United States is sinking deeper and deeper into debt, and the administration's failure to budget for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan is sending our country even deeper into red ink. For as brilliantly as our troops have performed on the battlefield, as brilliantly as they have fought and died on the battlefield, the administration's budgeteers are creating a budgetary catastrophe. But the executive branch has not always been so neglectful of the need to include in its budget the cost of ongoing wars. According to the Congressional Research Service, there is a long history of Presidents moving the cost of ongoing military operations into their annual budget requests rather than relying completely on supplemental appropriations bills.

For example, the Congressional Research Service reports President Franklin D. Roosevelt included funds for World War II in his fiscal year 1943 budget request. President Lyndon B. Johnson included funds for the Vietnam war in his fiscal year 1966 request. Military operations in Bosnia and the U.S. operations to enforce the no-fly zone over Iraq were initially funded through supplemental appropriations. But in 1995, Congress forced President Bill Clinton to include those costs in his fiscal year 1997 budget, which he did. Upon assuming the Presidency, George W. Bush began to include the cost of the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo in his fiscal year 2001 budget request. I supported President Bush on that initiative because it made good fiscal sense. Twice I have offered amendments to the Defense appropriations bills to urge the President to add the costs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to his budget.

These amendments were approved by strong bipartisan majorities of the Senate. The first time I offered the amendment on July 17, 2003, it was approved 81 to 15. The second time I offered the amendment on June 24, 2004, it received even broader support and was approved 89 to 9. Each time, this sense-of-the-Senate provision was included in the Defense Appropriations Act and signed into law by the President.

Today, I offer an amendment that follows up on the Senate's call for the President to budget for the cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Let us just have truth in accounting. This is honest accounting. We are letting the American people know how much they are paying for these wars.

This amendment builds on the sense-of-the-Senate language that has been approved by strong bipartisan majorities of the Senate in each of the last 2 years. Once again, this provision urges the President to budget for the cost of the war in Iraq and the war in Afghanistan. However, my amendment today goes further and urges the President to submit an amended budget request for the cost of the wars to Congress no later than September 1, 2005.

Although the White House should have budgeted for this war long ago, this provision ratchets up the pressure on the administration to submit to Congress an estimate of the cost of the war for fiscal year 2006. Hopefully, this will be the first step in restoring some sanity to the President's budget request that has so far ignored the enormous costs of military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

This amendment also contains a section of findings that illustrate many of the points I have already made in urging the President to budget for the war. These findings emphasize the legislative history of the Senate urging the President to budget for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The findings also present some of the conclusions reached by the Congressional Research Service about the funding of previous military operations through the regular appropriations process.

Finally, this amendment includes a reporting requirement that would help keep Congress informed—help keep us informed. We are elected by “we the people,” the first three words in the preamble of the Constitution. We are hearing a lot about the Constitution these days, and we are going to hear more. I am going to have a few things to say about it before it is over.

As I said, this amendment includes a reporting requirement that would help to keep Congress informed about the real costs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This provision would require the Department of Defense to provide Congress with the specific amounts that have been spent to date—what is wrong with that?—for each of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Currently, the Pentagon prefers to report only a single figure that combines the

cost of these two wars, but Congress and the American people ought to know the exact cost of the war in Afghanistan. They ought to know the exact cost of the war that was forced upon our country in Afghanistan, and they need to know the cost of the war in Iraq, the war that the administration chose to begin, the invasion that the administration chose to set forth. These wars should not be confused one with the other. They are two different wars, and we should say so right up front. We should know the amount of money we spend in each.

In addition, this report would require the Pentagon to keep the Congress continually informed of estimates of military operations in Iraq and in Afghanistan for the next year so that Congress can have the better lens with which to look upon future budgets for our military.

This is nothing but right. The elected representatives of the people sitting in this body ought to know these things. We are representing the American people in our States and throughout the country. What is wrong with our telling them right up front? We need to know these things. I have a responsibility to my people back home. Not only that, but I have a responsibility to my children, my grandchildren, and to their children. Each of us has that responsibility, and we ought to ask for this information. We ought to insist on it.

Once again, the Senate should send a message to the administration that it ought to budget for the costs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. My amendment sends that message in clear terms. I urge my colleagues to join me in approving this sense-of-the-Senate amendment with another strong bipartisan vote.

I call up my amendment No. 464.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the pending amendment will be set aside. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] proposes an amendment numbered 464.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 169, between lines 8 and 9, insert the following:

REQUESTS FOR FUTURE FUNDING FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS IN AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ

SEC. 1122. (a) FINDINGS.—The Senate makes the following findings:

(1) The Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2004 (Public Law 108-87) and the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2005 (Public Law 108-287) each contain a sense of the Senate provision urging the President to provide in the annual budget requests of the President for a fiscal year under section 1105(a) of title 31, United States Code, an estimate of the cost of ongoing military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan in such fiscal year.

(2) The budget for fiscal year 2006 submitted to Congress by the President on February 7, 2005, requests no funds for fiscal year